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CONTENTS—INHOUDE

PAGE—
BLADSY

Editor's Note.....	101
The Koranna	
By THOMAS PRINGLE.....	102
Studies in Korana History, Customs and Language	
By L. F. MAINGARD.....	103
I. The Problems: A Glimpse in the Present-day	
Life of the Korana.....	103
II. The Problem of the Origins.....	106
III. Early History of the Korana.....	114
IV. History of the Links Tribe.....	121
V. Historical and Ethnographical Texts.....	133
VI. Language.....	148
VII. Genealogical Lists.....	153
VIII. Comparative Table of Korana Tribal Names.....	161
Physical Characteristics of the Korana	
By J. F. MAINGARD.....	163
The Music and Musical Instruments of the Korana	
By P. R. KIRBY.....	183
Plates and Map.....	204
Book Reviews.....	205

BANTOE-STUDIES

'N TYDSKRIF

gewy aan die wetenskaplike studie van

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language ; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people ; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. or B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. or Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.



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THE CORANNA

Fast by his wild resounding river
The listless Coran lingers ever ;
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Soothed by the Gorrah's humming reed ;
A rover still unchecked will range,
As humour calls or seasons change ;
His tents of mats and leathern gear
Are packed upon the patient steer.
'Mid all his wanderings hating toil,
He never tills the stubborn soil ;
But on the milky dams relies,
And what spontaneous earth supplies.
Should some long parching drougts prevail
And milk and bulbs and locusts fail,
He lays him down to sleep away
In languid trance the weary day ;
Oft as he feels gaunt hunger's stound,
Still tightening famine's girdle round ;
Lulled by the sound of the Gareep,
Beneath the willows murmuring deep ;
Till thunder-clouds surcharged with rain
Pour o'erdue o'er the panting plain,
And call the famished dreamer from his trance,
To feed on milk and game, and wake the moonlight dance.

THOMAS PRINGLE.

(1828.)

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BANTU

STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

BY PROFESSOR L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that “the Korana is extinct.” I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned “Boomplaats.” That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of “a grown-up man,” then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* “a boy.” His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go:tis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

specimens of their sex, and *Meis's* younger, very much younger sister, *Iis* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the */habab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex.

The younger generations included *!Gobo* \neq *xa* (Piet Kraal, 52), *Tsi:ta*, the son of *Teteb* ; *!Kutsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab* ; his wife, *Oreas* and *Ebis* her sister ; *!gasibe*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Iis*, and *Kwakwalis*, *!Kutsi* and Piet Kraal have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi:ta* and *!Kutsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, so the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pandokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Teteb* showed me a mass of correspondence in which Hermanus Links, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain.

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *su:di*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening ; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*,

"Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .

"Oh ! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."

* * * * *

I searched the district for more Korana. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old Mamusa,—where I discovered a very old man, *Xras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family ; and another very old man, *Sele:ki*, who told me about the battle between David Massow and the Dutch in 1885. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Korana working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaranstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S.

Leask, I discovered *Korakje* at Witpoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Shepperd Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomatapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Marais and Roos, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had “absented” himself from his post of scribe in the Company’s service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Kei or Great Korana, bounded towards the north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana—Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borchers, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."¹

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap—the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the wellknown vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native tradition with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

¹ Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River. He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story :

Kora, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.²

In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.³ He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

² Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

³ The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: “Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khora. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots’ Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Koranna are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T’Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift).”⁴

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the “trek” would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Sanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

But consider, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the second language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kaptein or Jan Taaibosch,⁵ and from whom he most probably learnt that “the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

⁴ B. C. p. 290.

⁵ See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas.”⁶

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : “ The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony ” and he adds what seems his inference : “ the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas.”⁷ Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachoqua*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.⁸ Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachoqua*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the *Dagverhaal*, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

⁶ *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

⁷ B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

⁸ For a full discussion, see my study “ The Lost Tribes of the Cape,” *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.⁹

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the "men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.¹⁰

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or "Hoogekraal"), and the *Husingais*, forming the "small" Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana: *!kuriŋ //ais*, the "Hoogstander" to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the "proud people") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (= *!kuriŋ //aikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Capman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.¹¹ It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

⁹ For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

¹⁰ Dagverhaal, II. p, 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

¹¹ Moodie I. *passim*.

1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The "trek" of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.¹²

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taai Bosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.¹³

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the "riem" episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.¹⁴

4. The official records make no mention of the "trek" of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.¹⁵

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederick Wuras collected from a very old Kora "near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called "*Chei am 'aub*" was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

¹² Moodie I. 445.

¹³ See genealogical lists further on.

¹⁴ Md. I. p. 318.

¹⁵ See "The Lost Tribes of the Cape," p. 498-499.

them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained.”¹⁶

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the “Right Hand” tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great “trek” from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the “Links” or “Left Hand” tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came “from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up.”

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good school-master of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,¹⁷ he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

¹⁶ *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touns, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Koranna women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs.”*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,¹ is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie² and by Molema³ are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,⁴ in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.⁵ He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.

¹ Lindley-Adamantia, p. 10-11.

² McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.

³ Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.

⁴ B. C. p. 136.

⁵ G. M. II. p. 78-138.

grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namnykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Aukokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upington, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.⁶ Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.⁷ Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Kay Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece of information definitely shows that the *Kei !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taai Bosch tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.⁸

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Tau*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

⁶ G. M. II. p. 126.

⁷ G. M. II. p. 128.

⁸ G. M. II. p. 122.

country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, "pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.⁹

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.¹⁰

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a "desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.¹¹ His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Witgatboom a very full record of his wanderings,¹² which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against "the black nations." The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

⁹ G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

¹⁰ Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

¹¹ Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 50-51; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

¹² B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he "had then already ears and eyes."

Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his “ father sowed ” for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Bangwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well poisoned by the Bangwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein : “ that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,”¹³ and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says : “ for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name.”¹⁴ So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinkklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for “ my father came in the country before the Korannas,” says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Massow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. “ The Corannas,” he writes then, “ are the most considerable people of those parts.” But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, “ accompanied by a number of *Bastards*.”¹⁵

¹³ Campbell, 1813, p. 168.

¹⁴ Lichtenstein, II. 342.

¹⁵ T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Laauwatersfontein, Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable “Hottentot republic,”¹⁶ and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous “Bastard” for a new name, the “Griquas.”

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreducible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the “Hoogstanders,” the “Spinnekop,” whom we have met already, and the “Eynikoa,” of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua “for the sake of protection,” as Campbell puts it in 1813, “. . . are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,”¹⁷ and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.¹⁸ They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.¹⁹ He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar’s day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the “Right Hand” tribe and the “Sorcerers,” wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

¹⁶ Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.

¹⁷ Campbell, 1813, p. 256

¹⁸ B. C. p. 32-33.

¹⁹ Campbell, 1813, p. 273-299.

date at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the "Springboks" we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kei !Korana*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Lithakong, in July 1812, "a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"²⁰ that is, precisely the original home of the *Kei !Korana*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the "Tybus" as he calls them, at "Malapeetze."²¹ This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Korana there were about 300 in 56 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetze.

In 1820, the Malapeetze Korana had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mobatee, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetze, which was then deserted.²²

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

²⁰ Burchell, I. p. 345.

²¹ Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.

²² Campbell, 1820, II. p. 22-23.

to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaibosches and the Links were then still living together.

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaibosches and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabab*, *Matiti* and *Teteb* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,¹ when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this "hiving off" occurred in this intervening period.

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.² His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River.

¹ Campbell, 1813. p. 230-2.

² Campbell, 1820. II. p. 289, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 348-352.

The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,³ but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.⁴

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."⁵ This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

³ See Historical Texts.

⁴ Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

⁵ Broadbent, p. 89-91.

in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.⁶ But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.⁷ It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.⁸

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.⁹

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

⁶ Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

⁷ R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

⁸ R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

⁹ B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhout-spruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wuras, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.¹⁰ It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

¹⁰ B. M. B. 1836, p. 178. ff.

of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original “voortrekkers.” Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Bergen in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.¹¹ The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found “any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River.”¹² As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Mekwatling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.¹³ Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moselekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a “smous,” that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, “under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx.”¹⁴ They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

¹¹ B. C. p. 237-238.

¹² B. C. p. 198.

¹³ J. D. Missions Evangeliques, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.

¹⁴ B. C. 253.

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.¹⁵ This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.¹⁶ Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,¹⁷ and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to¹⁸ the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.¹⁹

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.²⁰ He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

¹⁵ B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.

¹⁶ B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.

¹⁷ B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.

¹⁸ B. M. B. years 1848-1854.

¹⁹ B. M. B. 1850, p. 202

²⁰ B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.²¹

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the *Berichte* of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

²¹ B. M. B. 1850, p. 191 ; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421 ; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18 ; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220 ; 1852, note on pp. 3-5 ; pp. 103, 106.

readily granted.²² BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voor-trekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.²³ In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.²⁴ In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."²⁵ H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."²⁶

Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.²⁷ Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."²⁸ But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

²² B. C. p. 291-3.

²³ B. C. p. 257.

²⁴ B. C. p. 324.

²⁵ B. C. p. 263, and 265.

²⁶ B. C. p. 323.

²⁷ B. M. B. 1848-1854.

²⁸ B. C. 325.

opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; “now that Pretorius has been here,” said the Korana, “and that he has won our land, we must go.” On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.²⁹

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm “Matlabanestad,” along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.³⁰

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.³¹ Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm “Nooitgedacht” on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near “a large Korana station” . . . and he received “the visit of the whole kraal . . . about 70 in all.”³² Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that “it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa” and “soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas,” and four years later, he finds “a good many Koranas” still at the Saltpan.³³

²⁹ B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.

³⁰ B. C. 215.

³¹ B. C. 289.

³² Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.

³³ Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,³⁴ perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."³⁵ Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.³⁶ In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.³⁷

Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

³⁴ Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.

³⁵ Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79, p. 33.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 34.

³⁷ Wangemann, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.³⁸ There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.³⁹ Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.³⁸

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.⁴⁰

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.⁴¹ Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

³⁸ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

³⁹ Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

⁴⁰ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

⁴¹ Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.⁴² Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,⁴³ it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.⁴³ There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

⁴² Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "*the Independent*" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75, C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-26.

⁴³ Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.⁴⁴ An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as "not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.⁴⁵ It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.⁴⁶

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on "Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on "Games," was thought to be more con-

⁴⁴ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.

⁴⁶ Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, "correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, "not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, "as it is spoken" among the *||are mŋ|| ais* at Bloemhof.

(A). HISTORICAL TEXTS

(i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

The Korana people say *huri xu da na xā !kū* "we come from the sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xā* means "to trek in order

to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, *!kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *≠hūib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to *!kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of *!Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !korana*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/heĩ !garib*) and the Hart's River (*≠Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khwekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof,

(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurib xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kū ha o, inkje kei !korakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kū a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāugu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mūe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutani (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa sīe, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāugu khwekwa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ≠Untup, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second “Brikwa.” Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *doro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabab*, December 1931.

kx²om ina kx²ombae !harab !na |ko:kwa. ina gomab ≠abae. ||nuib ≠nabae ≠gaus !na, ie ≠gausi ≠hũiba xu die a.

≠an māsī sa khwekwa xana sāsibae.

io kx²a kuna ||kae, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe. ina |uikwa !hō:e ||nāu !na. ina "hn-n" ti mĩ. !nuse ha a, iku ta ≠ge:ie o, iku ||nāu.

ina gōab mǎe, garamuf |kwa.

ina ||kxaeb mǎe:

ta:e sausub dao xu !aub !na ha |aiba.

itsa gu:xu:kwa ||kaigu |aina gu:xu:b mũ o, ta:e !gaba ≠eib xu. a u:ha ||kǎũba. ina ||kǎũb gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.

itsa xu:b !aub !naho: ho, u:ha ||kǎũba !koa, ib |hũ khweb (xu: ≠ēib) ha ho: bi ||kǎũba !na.

!ōas ≠ũ xu.

ina xu:b ita disa o, ||kaba ||kxaeb !na u: ≠ke:i.

ibta !ōas ≠ũ o, ina ||naba ||o:.

ibta kx²omma xu ≠kwa o, ina hoxae, |nōas ≠gauwe !nona kurisas. ina !kxo:e ka sie. ibta !kxo: o, i kx²ausa. ibta !kxo: tǎ o, ||kaba ||kxaeb !na u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Stones are struck together in their ear and they say "hn-n." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kirri.

Then they are given instruction :

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its foot.

Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the "law" i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*doro*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the "law" again.

Note : *Matiti*, the other informant added : */hũna ha !kũ o, ikje dixu dorobi*, "since the white men (the English) have come, the *doro* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the "laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

doro !na ko u: ≠kei. ina !wāsi kei khwekwa ku ha ina gomare !kwa !kũ ||kae. ina garamuf thi gōab thikha mǎe.

ina ||kxaeb mǎe:

ta:e !aub !na ho:we sa |aibba sausub khau.

ta:e !ōas ≠ũ.

ta:e !aub !na ho: |aina itsta mũ o.

ta:e !gaba ≠eib. a u:ha ||kãũba !kwa.

iku gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.

itsta !aub !na !gaba ≠eib o, iku !kosa, ina ||kaba u: ≠kei.

ina gu:na di ||nuib kx²asie, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe,

ina |uikwa !ho:e ||nũ !na. !nusa ha a, iku ≠ge:ie kuta o, ||nũ.

ina nona kurisas |nōas u: !kwāsibae. i ||garu, ita saoba ho: o, kx²aosa.

ita ho: tama ha o, ita ||kaba u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

He is taken into the *doro*. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kirri and an assegai (knife).

Then the "laws" are given,

Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

The *doro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, *The Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

- (i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.
- (ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.
- (iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.
- (iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.
- (v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

It is the first time that the full *doro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Morolong nations; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dorro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the "*duub*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (i) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

Tabab was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts: *doro !na /gorekwa ha tama*, "in the *doro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the $\neq a:di$, the "reed pipes" and dancing went on during the *doro*. The "laws" given by Wuras are slightly different and not so full.

The *doro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taai-bosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), "The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gam //kxaeb* ceremony.

ina ibta xami khamma $\neq noa$ o, ina //nausab si //nae, ina goman $\neq ae$, /gorekwa māsī /kha: kx²ai //nausab.

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teteb* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *doro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her "Conception on the *!nau*" (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *doro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wuras (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!guwisa:b*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The */habab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

//kaeb ta ha o, /ko:s di /habab, ina !khaib dibae, ina /haruba māsī $\neq kae$, ina /kona mū kx²am //ab dibae, ina !nose $\neq nu$, xu:kwa geise !gaba

tama, i ||kaosen tama, ina ≠kwa: ta o, |kona mǎ kx²am ||aba ≠kwa:sa, ina gei khwesa !oasi.

iku ta o, iku ≠u:kwa twa o, ina !kāsab gu:b mǎ, ina gu:b ≠ae, ina a:b !na !aoxodōmae, ina ≠gaus !na xaba die |aubi, ina gei khwesa sāsie, ina gei oudi ina habu, ina ||khom di |harab u:e, ina |harab |kwa ≠kauwe, ||nuib |kwa ina uree, ina ure twa sta o, ina ||nuiba ≠kauwe, ina !nouba ||kaba |hoboe, ina sāba thūmme.

ina gu:b ta sāsie o, ina |aeosa keisa khwedi ≠ūe, ina !kū:b |kwa, |habib tsi ≠namma tsikwa anae, ina !amdi ||ka:e.

ina gei khwesi kwa hwaxu:kwa !ko tsi xun |uib tsikwa, ina xun |kxwae.

ina !gariba u: ≠kae, i ousi heis u:ha, ina ho:sista o, ina ≠goap u:e, ina ≠goaba he:ba !kurue tsi ≠geithakwa u:kx²ai !kurue, ina ||na:ba ||gamma kx²am !na mǎe, ||kwaku kx²ai mǎe, ina he: heisa ≠naue, ina kx²ai xarie.

ina|| kǎūba !koa !kū, ina gei khwedi ||nae, ina ||am, ina ≠na:.

Translation :

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sāb* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grind-stone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick, When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to bend on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the stad. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ko:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */kaep* ; (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, "veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) *!hu !kūb* ; (v) *!gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the *!konabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *!naes /ko:na gomab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *!naes /ko:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !koab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx²ai !nae ha. ikje !koab hwa kx²omina !go kx²ai. ||na: ||kae, kx²omina /harukwa xu die ha. ikje /harukwa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi /garib !na /hākwa di /hou /hou.

Translation :

Iis was born at Saron (*!khoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Iis* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Kheis*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gaoxaob ta !naue o, ina |hobab !naue-ina !khaib dibae, ina haikwa !narae, ina |harub !asibae, ina |kha: ||o:b ≠nammi xa xamie, ina ||na:ba ||goisie, ina |nei |haruba !kǃu kxʔamue, ina !hu:ba thurue.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Teteb* and *Iis*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Teteb* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Teteb* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 316

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Matiti* and *!gobo ≠xa*)

<i>!gobo ≠xa</i> called	<i>Api</i> (father)	<i>ti ïb</i> ;
	<i>Dzelani</i> (mother)	<i>ti ïs</i> ;
	<i>Matiti</i> (father's brother)	<i>gei ta</i> ("groot pa")
	<i>Matowna</i> (grandfather)	<i>ti naub</i> ;
	<i>!Kurubab</i> (great-grandfather)	<i>ti gei naub</i> ;
	<i>E:di</i> (cousin by father's brother)	<i>ti !kās</i> ;
	<i>Otomas</i> (-do-)	<i>ti !kās</i> .

B. (Genealogical list of the Links Chiefs)

<i>Kheis</i> called	<i>!Aukeis</i> (cousin by father's brother)	<i>Ti !kās</i> ;
	<i>Brikib</i> (-do-)	<i>ti !kāb</i> ;
	<i>Geij !hareip</i> (grandfather)	<i>ti naub</i> ;
	<i>Ouhanas</i> (grandmother)	<i>oumas</i> ;
<i>!Kutsi</i> called	<i>Tabab</i> (Father-in-law)	<i>ti uib</i> ;
	<i>Kheis</i> (mother-in-law)	<i>ti uis</i> ;
	<i>Leli</i> (daughter)	<i>ti ðas</i> ;
	<i>Dani</i> (son)	<i>ti ðab</i> ;
	<i>Oreas</i> (wife)	<i>ti taras</i> ;
<i>Oreas</i> called	<i>!Kutsi</i> (husband)	<i>ti xai</i> ;
	<i>Katsilib</i> (mother's brother)	<i>Ti nausob</i> ;

C. (Genealogical list of *Meis* and *Iis*)

<i>Iis</i> called	<i>Hinas</i> (father's sister)	<i>ti moekis, oumas</i> ;
	<i>Seko:</i> (uncle by marriage)	<i>ti nurib</i> ;
	<i>Mulukab</i> (cousin by mother's sister)	<i>ti nurib</i> ;
	<i>Tareas</i> (father's sister)	<i>ti moekis</i> ;
	<i>Bupen</i> (cousin by mother's sister)	<i>ti nurib</i> .
<i>!gasibe</i> called	<i>Iis</i> (mother)	<i>ti ïs</i> ;
	<i>Kivido</i> (grandfather)	<i>outab</i> ;
	<i>Tareas</i> (great aunt)	<i>oumas</i> ;
	<i>Hinas</i> (great aunt)	<i>oumas</i> ;
	<i>Seko:</i> (great uncle)	<i>outab</i> ;
	<i>Meis</i> (mother's elder sister)	<i>gei mas</i> ;
	<i>Mulukab</i> (second cousin)	<i>mas nurib</i> .

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final -s into a -b to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of -b into -s. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the -b or -s. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi heib thikha khau |kwa. ||kwa ka ka kje na !kũ, ina !uri ||kae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai ||nũukwa na |oro ||na:e. !kharedi kx²ausakwa xa takakhwedi diba. geida khwekwa ikje diba. ||guru |uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khares* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the *kirri* gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (\neq *noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

!ka:b sa:kwa di |kwa. ikje !korakwa !ka:b di |kwa tama. ikje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |hurubekwa khama |huru ha. ikje ||kākx²ausakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi \neq a:kwa thikwa \neq noa. ikje !hami!na, |kū:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugub !na !kxo:e. ikje gōab |kwa !kamme.

Translation :

The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dzuli*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river ("de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende" (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !karib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ≠ke:i.

//nāib ina !hũe, ina |kũ |kũe, ina //karae, ina thamsa !kaib ab u:e. ina danis |kwa ≠gobe.

ina |kamsa //gammi ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx²aie. ina |kũ |kũe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *//nāib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 "*Travels.*" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : "Every day our company makes beer, the "dregs" (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *haap* or "haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *//nāib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettmann (*Africanderisms*), the *Mesembryanthemum* Mill is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *//hu:s*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from //hu:, "To make a hole" and //hu:s is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "ham !kumiŋ !na ha?" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: !kaugu. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the //aremy //ais of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

- (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.
- (ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.
- (iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *ẽ* and

i and *õ* and *ũ* (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus $\neq ke:i$, in *Tabab's* pronunciation, as against *Iis*, $\neq kae$, "to be brought in." $\neq ke:i$ can be explained thus: $\neq kae > \neq kee$ (with $a > e$) $> \neq ke:i$ (*i* by dissimilation). Again *!Naes* in the group *!naes* */ko:na gomab* was pronounced *!neis* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemhof.

Similarly *o* and *u*, e.g. *uru* and *ore* "to free, rub off"; *!Koro* and *!kuru*, "to rub, massage";

au and *ou* in *!naub* and *!noub*, "red ochre";

ãu and *õu* in */!nãu* and */!nõu*, "to hear."

An *ɔ* is found in some words, e.g. *!gɔ kx²ai*, "to cover"; *kx²ɔmi*, "house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in */uib*, "stone" pronounced */yib*, as against */uib*, "father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ua > wa e.g. *!koa*, and *!kwa* "to"; */kwa*, "with"; $\neq kwa$, "to go out."

w develops between *o:* and *e* in *ho:we* "to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) Consonants.

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; *geiŋ! hareip*; $\neq eip$ instead of $\neq eib$, "foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Mulukab*, *geiŋ! hareip*, *Katsilip*, etc. I have heard *Iis* say *!garip* and *!gadip* "the river" and *Tabab* say indifferently *gomadi* and *gomari* "the cows."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wuras (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under "Cow"): "All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kumatee*; the man says: *Kumare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): "Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons gesien dat die gebruik van 'n *r*- of 'n *d*- vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* od *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *lauula* "I am sorry, excuse me."

(iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names; *||areməŋ ||ais*; "the Links" *!Kuriŋ ||ais*, "the Hoogstanders"; *||hãoŋ ||ais*, "the Katmense"; *||hũŋ ||ais* the "Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareip* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* "the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib*, "the Orange River," and *!karib*, "honey-beer," and *!harib* "whip"; *||kaeb*, "time," and *||kxaeb* "law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kxʔ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *||areməŋ ||ais* being a good example, < *||are* "left," + *||õab*, "arm," *||ais* "tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib*, "stone," with a high tone, and */uib*, "father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that "die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 16th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. i. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in *-b*, there are a few feminines ending in *-s*. There are a number of plural masculines ending in *-kwa*. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development.

In our dialect, the *-b* is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. when *||kaeb*, "time" is placed at the end of a temporal clause: *io kx²a kuna ||kae, ina ≠gcie*, "when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *!uri ||kae*, "in the afternoon time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *ina* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of "and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual acumen, has already noted for Nama what he calls the *Passivum narrativum* (op. cit. 392). He says: "Statt zu sagen *tsīs gye go ≠na*, d.h. "und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern: *tsī gye go ≠nahe*, (-he, Passivendung), d.h. "und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivsatz selbst durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimmtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he: ba mūe;*, *ikje ≠an ≠ansie*, etc, cp. also the last lines of *!habab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *≠an māsi sa khwekwa sāsibae*, lit: "know, place, *sa* adjectival postfix, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-roots), i.e. "certain men are appointed to cook for him." Or again, *|kona mā kx'am ||ap*. lit. "alone, place, mouth door," i.e. "a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call "parts of speech" is lost or perhaps never existed.

THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 16th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all came from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molesbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

<i>Korana.</i>	<i>Cape.</i>	<i>Nama.</i>	<i>English.</i>
<i>A.</i>			
1. <i>kx²a</i>	<i>kx²a, kaa</i>	<i>a</i>	"to drink"
2. <i>kx²am</i>	<i>kamqua, quamqua</i>	<i>am</i>	"mouth."
3. <i>kx²anis</i>	<i>k²anniqua</i>	<i>ani</i>	"bird."
4. <i>kx²ēib</i>	<i>qu²ein</i>	<i>āib</i>	"liver."
5. <i>kx²omi</i>	<i>k²omma</i>	<i>omi</i>	"house."
6. <i>kx²oēsibe</i>	<i>k²quoniaba</i>	<i>ūitsaba</i>	"alive."
7. <i>thui goab</i>	<i>thikwa</i>	<i>tsui goab</i>	"God."
<i>B.</i>			
1. <i>bi lāb</i>	<i>biqua, biquaan</i>	<i>tanas</i>	"head."
2. <i>tamma</i>	<i>tamma</i>	<i>nami</i>	"tongue."
3. <i>xoasaob</i>	<i>i²gwassow, choassow</i>	<i> garub</i>	"tiger."
4. <i> hūkab</i>	<i>thouqua</i>	<i>≠hirab</i>	"wolf."
5. <i>bib</i>	<i>bib</i>	<i>deib</i>	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *kx'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua=-kwa* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*bib*) as against Nama *deip*.

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *biquaan* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qu'ein*: "*qu'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *kamqua*: "das *k* . . . am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names:

-*b* (-*p*), for the males, and -*s* for the females.

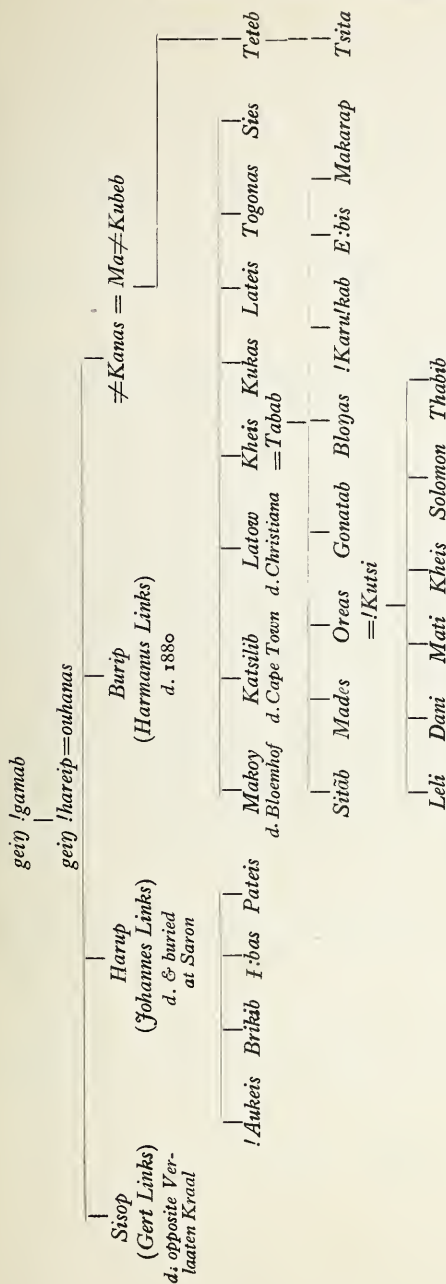
It is to be noted that:

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

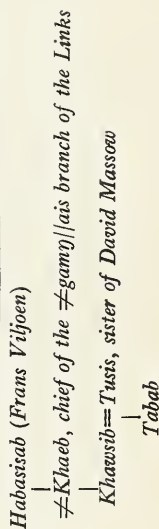
(ii) the names of the children of *!kutsi* and *Oreas* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF TABAB, HUSBAND OF KHEIS



GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources :

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291) ;

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292) ;

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto ;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana ;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself ;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110 ;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family, (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling ;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *ktangy* may = *kuenonkei* (*p*)

kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *kn*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *kn* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *konga* (*p*); and (c) *gauw* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Identity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

Kopi and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former. (Cp. B. C. p. 263 "Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Massow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

Sources : Informants at Bloemhof ; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Teteb*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

geiŋ !hareip, "great" or "old Hareip" is the "alte Hareip" of the *Berichte* (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man ("ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudeep*, "a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *u* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiŋ !hareip* died after 1854, the date of the break-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the *Berichte*.

Ouhanas, "old Hanna" is the pious "alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hareip" (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brune (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (*Imperial Bluebook*. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Teteb* of Bloemhof). He must=

Katsilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Teteb* is now looked upon as the *goaxaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Ursöb, the *Urson* of the *Berichte* and the *Oelson* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiŋ !hareip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

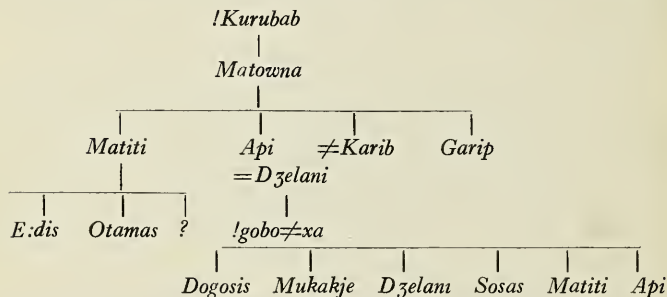
Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions *Berichte*, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiŋ !harieip* ; (ii)

old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *geiy !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursôb*? (iii) the unnamed daughter of *geiy !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the *Berichte*, was not the mother of *geiy !hariep*'s sons.

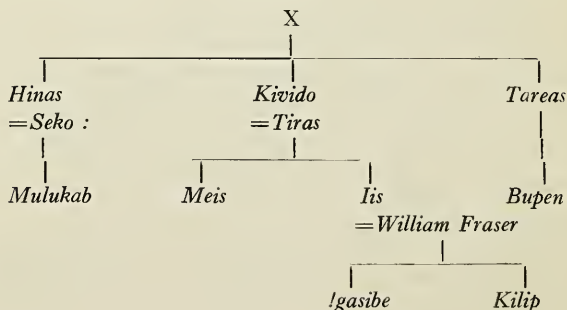
GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habasisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneehage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab*'s birth-place was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF MATITI AND !GOBO≠XA



GENEALOGY OF MEIS AND IIS



VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA TRIBAL NAMES.

<i>Wikar</i> ⁽¹⁾	<i>Albrecht</i> ⁽²⁾	<i>Campbell</i> ⁽³⁾	<i>Bloemhof</i> ⁽⁴⁾
<i>Namnykoa.</i>	<i>t'Kamanuqua.</i>	{ <i>Karossdrager</i> "Weavers of Karosses or cloaks."	
{ <i>Kaukoa</i> of <i>Snyervolk.</i>	{ <i>t'Konwggqua</i> oder 'Sneider.	{ <i>Snyers</i> "Cutters or taylors."	
<i>Aukokoa.</i>	{ <i>t'Ogaqua</i> oder "Naauwanger."	{ <i>Naanarwangs</i> "Narrowcheeks."	
{ <i>Kouringais</i> "de Hoogekraal."	{ <i>t'Qwoerigqua</i> oder "Hoogneemer."	{ "Hoogtens" "Heights."	<i>!Kuriŋ aikwa</i>
{ <i>Husingais</i> "Spinnedraad."	{ <i>t'hoekyqua</i> oder "Spinnekopper."	<i>Spinnekopsooger.</i>	
{ <i>Key korakkoa</i> of "Groot dito."			<i>Kei !korana.</i>
	<i>t'Ariwangkys.</i>	{ <i>Links staan</i> "Standing to the left."	<i> aremŋ ais.</i>
	<i>t'Hoengquiqua.</i>	{ <i>Springbokkers</i> "Springbucks."	<i> kūb eikwa.</i>
	<i>t'Hoeaqua.</i>	{ "Katmenchen." "Cat people."	<i> hōay aina.</i>
0.	{ <i>t'Kourwyqua</i> oder "Zeekoeneem- mers."	{ <i>Zeekoedragers</i> "Bearer of seacows."	<i>!kau aina.</i>
1.	<i>t'Amzaqua.</i>		
2.		{ <i>Tovernaans</i> "Wizards."	
3.			<i> hūŋ eikwa.</i>
4.	{ <i>t'Noekijqua</i> oder "Overkant- neemers."		

) G.M. ii. 17, 118, 124, 126, 128, 134. Date: 1778-1779.

) in Moritz. *Die älteste Reiseberichte in S.W. Afrika.* p. 99. Date: 1813.

) 1813. p. 282—four tribal names are left out in the above list.

) Bloemhof informants: *Tabab, Teteb, Kheis, Iis.* They did not give any more names except the *daūse*, the *Barendse* or tribe of Barend, the Griqua chief.

The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The "Taaibosch" or *Kei !korana* at Schweizer Reneke and at Umpukani; the "Links" or *||aremy ||ais* at Bloemhof; The "Springboks" or *|kūb ||eikwa* at Pniel. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere ("The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 495), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The "Cat" tribe or *|hōay ||aina* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Pniel (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Pniel-Hebron region, "in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," initialled by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1849-1850, the "Hoogstanders" or *!kuriy||ais*; the "Seekoes" or *!kau ||aina* and the "Skerpioens" or *|hūy||eikwa* in the immediate vicinity of Pniel and Goliath Ysterbek, the chief of the "Right Hand" tribe, at Platberg.¹

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Eynikkoa* or "River volk" of Wikar. Campbell included them in his "Different Tribes of Corannas on the Great River." This became the practice later, for they are called officially Korana in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when "Korannaland" was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-'79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.'75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *k* and has no indication before *n*, *a* and *h*; Albrecht with *t'k* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *||ais* means "tribe"; *||aina* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

¹ Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KORANA.*

By J. F. MAINGARD, B.SC.

A. INTRODUCTORY

During the month of February 1932, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making anthropological measurements on several members of the Links tribe of Korana Hottentots at Bloemhof.

These measurements are the more interesting because the actual physical characters of the Korana and their relationship to other South African peoples have been matters of considerable speculation within recent years. No writer on the Korana has denied that culturally and linguistically the Korana are Hottentots, and the general consensus of opinion seems to be that anthropologically also they are similar to other Hottentots. Yet there are some writers who maintain that there are certain other elements entering into the composition of the Korana. Thus according to Broom (1 and 2) the Korana "appear to be Hottentots who have acquired some strain of Negroid blood and a considerable strain from some Australoid (sic) race." In *Nature* of 1929, Broom (3) attempts to differentiate the Hottentots from the Korana. He writes: "The Hottentot and Korana are very distinct from the Bush. . . typical Hottentots are not improbably the primitive race contaminated by a considerable Bushman admixture while the Korana are apparently nearer to the primitive type, but with a considerable Australoid element." Two years afterwards we find a seeming contradiction of Broom's theory of Australoid admixture in the Korana in the following statement by Dreyer (4): "Disregarding those Australoids found up to the present in South Africa the Australoid character of which is sought in one or two features only, one need only consider one skull seriously, viz. that described by Drennan" (5), (i.e. the Cape Flats skull). From this statement of Dreyer's it appears that the distinction drawn by Broom between Korana and Hottentots is not generally accepted. In *Nature*

*I wish to record my indebtedness for assistance more particularly to Professor R. A. Dart, who helped me with books and instruments and whose kindly criticisms proved invaluable, to Mr. L. H. Wells for much helpful information, to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for allowing me access to her library, to Miss Wilman, the Director of the Kimberley Museum, and to my father, Professor L. F. Maingard.

of 1929 also, speaking of the Springbok Flats man, then newly discovered, Broom (6) regards the Korana as the direct descendants and modern representatives of the Springbok Flats type; yet Keith (7) in 1931 says of this same Springbok Flats type "He was a tall strong fellow with a big brain, and a long and wide head, a drawn out face, great mandible and small teeth—a type which we cannot fit into any African type known to us."

From my experience the Korana can hardly be said to conform to Keith's description of the Springbok Flats individual, but it is possible that some of them may show such features. In any case Keith's description of that skull is not in accordance with what Broom describes for his typical "Australoid" Korana!

Allen (8) tentatively advances the suggestion that the intrusion of the Australoid element into the Korana is due to admixture with Bushmen and that such a strain "may be found mixed with all the Yellow-skinned (i.e. Bush-Hottentot) peoples of South Africa."

Schapera (9) says that "the Korana skulls appear to be somewhat separated from those of other Hottentot tribes, and resemble more closely those of the Bantu-speaking Negroes of South-Central Africa (i.e. the Bechuana) with whom they have been in contact for a long time, but they also approximate on the whole, *more* towards the Bushman type of skull." This is a quotation from Shrubsall which is somewhat ambiguous. Schapera quotes Broom as one of his sources, but makes no mention of Australoid characters in the Korana. No measurements are given.

Further he says "Most (Hottentot) skulls are cryptozygous but among the Korana, mesozygous and phaenozygous are also found," and again "the cephalic index, owing to the greater length and lesser breadth of the Hottentot skulls is definitely dolichocephalic, especially in the Korana skulls." This seems to show that he agrees with Shrubsall in regarding Hottentots and more especially Korana as characterised by a mixture of Bantu and Bush features. He also adds that the Korana mandible as contrasted with that of the other Hottentots, resembles the mandible of the South-Eastern Bantu. Nevertheless he seems to think that still another element contributed to the physical structure of the Hottentot but refrains from committing himself as to its nature.

Sollas (10) apparently considers the Korana as negroids although he is not very explicit. Drennan (11) in his discussion of Bush and Hottentot does not mention them at all. Dart (12) in a general survey of South African Anthropology says "Investigations . . . have not in my opinion

revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present "to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. With Bantu :

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his "dagverhaal" (diary) he mentions the "tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, "daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it.

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that "what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that "many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language" (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the "Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana" and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them "the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only.

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman. . . . The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage. . . . They fought after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen :*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd "In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hareena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that "Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen."

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that "the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that "there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (25) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Korana among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmale) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

Hitherto I have used the term "Hottentot" without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—"The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : "*Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the "Bush type" as defined by Drennan

(11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this "Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term "San" race as an alternative to "Bush" race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as "Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the "Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see *passim* historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submergerd in these "Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26).

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch können rötlichen variatäten häufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with.

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour.

Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of "Bush" admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had "Bush" characters.

Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original "Hottentot" type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood: "*Auch Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in beträchtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shruballs (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other "Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Grootfontein "Bush" skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper).

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (35) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figures from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boshof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of "pure" Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Nama-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reinecke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical "Hottentot" yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows *mesaticephaly* bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are "pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index.

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were *orthocephalic*, one (No. 1) *chamaecephalic*, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all "pure" Korana, were *hypsicephalic* individuals. (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically "Bush" in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Boskopoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly *chamaeprosopic*.

Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5' 6" in height, the average for the group is about 5' 3". The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 67.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the "Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the "typical Hottentot" skull—"a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocephalic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesoseme, platyrrhine, and leptostaphylinic" (33).

If Shrubsall's "Hottentot" standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

The position we have reached then is this :—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely bastardised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, present typical "Hottentot" features as defined above. The typical "Hottentot" features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

of Daniell's, that she could almost have stepped out of the pages of his sketch-book. Her skin was of olive-yellow tint, her face was broad with high cheek-bones, coming to a point at the chin which was so characteristic of the Hottentot of the earlier descriptions. Nevertheless from the somatometrical evidence (i.e. from investigation of a group of definitely known Korana), we can refer *most* of these particular Korana to the "Bush type." They do not conform to the definitions laid down both here and by Shrubsall for a "typical Hottentot."

This may be because (1) of the known Bushman admixture in the Links, or because (2) the typical Hottentot has not been accurately described.

We may rely on the evidence relating to the external features of the "typical Hottentot," for, as we have seen elsewhere, it has been extensively corroborated.

We cannot be so sure about the evidence relating to skeletal characteristics. In information derived from skeletal material a possible source of error may exist. There is no way of knowing in a good many cases the actual origin of such material. The investigator has to take it on trust, unless the pre-burial history is accurately known.

It is in deciding questions that might otherwise be in doubt that field work is so desirable in South Africa.

L. Schultze (36) investigated the external appearance of the "Nama Hottentots" in this way, but unfortunately took no measurements. His results go to show that the Namaqua are also very mixed in their features showing both Bushman and Bantu traits. He mentions that prominent eyebrow-ridges are found in the Nama also.

The presence of two persons among the Links (Nos. 5 and 6) having well-marked eyebrow-ridges, confirms Broom in ascribing "Australoid" features to *some* of the Korana, but in view of Schultze's findings among the Namaqua and the fact that such features have been found elsewhere amongst Bushmen, the possession of Australoid features is not to be considered characteristic of or even common in these Links Korana. These features could have been brought into the Korana by such "Australoid Bushmen," especially as both Links showing eyebrow ridges were Bushmanoid. There is even a possibility that they are Boskopoids. A surprising fact that emerges from these considerations is that there is little trace of Bantu influence apparent in the physical structure of the Links. Yet we know from the historical facts that they have lived in close alliance with the Bechuana for many years.

This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that "Bush" features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives¹, but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives² to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, "Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not "Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the "Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such "Hottentot" types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned "investigations have not" as yet "revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

¹ See historical section.

² One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa--a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched.

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

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ANTHROPOMETRICAL TABLE

No. and Sex	Tribe (parentage)	Head			Face		Nose		Limbs		Indices					Cranial capacity		
		L	B	Auricular height	Bi-zyg. width	Upper F. length	Total F. length	L	B	Upper	Lower	Total height (standing)	Cephalic	Upper facial	Cranial height		Nasal	Inter-membral
1 ♂	NxK	19.5	14.9	10.3	13.2	4.25	10.5	3.1	3.8	—	—	1647	76.5	40	53	122	—	1290
2 ♀	K?	17.5	13.3	10.7	13.0	5.55	9.95	4.2	2.7	—	—	—	74.5	42	62	64	—	1175
3 ♂	KxB	19.1	14.95	12.0	12.9	4.7	9.85	3.9	3.9	69.35	84.35	1549	78	36	63	100	82.3	1322
4 ♂	K	19.2	15.00	12.2	13.8	4.7	9.6	3.9	4.3	79.70	91.25	1671	78	34	63	110	87.5	1342
5 ♂	K	19.75	14.9	11.9	13.5	5.35	8.9	4.2	4.5	73.25	92.25	1571	75	40	60	107	79.4	1343
6 ♂	K	19.4	14.9	12.4	12.9	5.7	11.2	4.4	4.0	69.00	93.50	1616	77	44	64	91	73.7	1369
7 ♂	K	19.4	14.6	11.2	13.35	5.1	10.1	3.8	4.1	71.50	93.00	1567	75	38	60	108	76.9	1247
8 ♂	K	19.3	14.9	11.7	13.4	5.5	10.5	4.2	3.65	63.15	84.20	1466	77	41	61	87	75.0	1303
9 ♂	GxK	19.1	15.5	11.45	13.8	5.7	10.85	4.5	3.4	70.75	87.75	1547	81	41	60	76	80.6	
10 ♀	K	18.6	14.6	12.4	12.95	4.8	9.9	3.5	4.1	67.75	94.00	1577	78.5	37	66	117	72.1	1275
11 ♀	K	19.6	15.5	12.6	13.7	4.9	9.6	3.6	3.6	71.75	99.00	1674	79	37	64	100	72.5	1433
13 ♀	KxG	18.3	13.8	11.4	12.7	4.5	9.6	3.65	3.75	70.50	94.00	1604	75.4	35	60	103	75.0	1107
17 ♂	K?	18.6	13.5	13.4*	12.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72.6	—	—	—	—	1305
18 ♂	K?	18.9	12.45	13.2*	12.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	65.9	—	—	—	—	1230
19 ♂	K?	19.3	14.0	13.4*	—	—	—	4.8	2.7	—	—	—	72.5	—	69.4	56.3	—	1490
*Average Karana" (Shrubfall)		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50.2	70.1	—	—	1425-50

*Basi—bregmatic height

K—Korana
B—Chwana
N—Nana
G—Griqua

(No. 2 is a (supposed) Korana skull from Schweizer Reneke, Nos. 17 and 18 are Fritsch's specimens, No. 19 is a specimen in the R. C. S. Museum.)

THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the "Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

A drum, named /*khais*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called //*hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

which was used to contain milk. This jar is, of course, the well-known *bambus* of the early writers. A goatskin was procured, and all the hair was removed. While wet and soft, this skin was stretched over the mouth of the *//hoes*, secured in position by a piece of *riem*, and allowed to dry. The performer seated herself upon the ground, placed the */khais* on the earth before her, and struck it with the flat palm of her right hand. It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances. I was unable to ascertain whether any attempt was made to tune the instrument to a particular note, as has been suggested by Burchell in the case of the "water-drum" which he saw played by Bushmen; but it is quite conceivable that such tuning may have been practised by the Korana, when one considers their use of stringed instruments. The usual method of adjusting the pitch of drums employed by Natives of South Africa is to wet the drum skin and then place the instrument in the sun or before a fire until the tension appears to the player to be satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that the */khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. It would appear that the early Hollanders, seeing the Hottentots with a drum made from a pot covered with skin, rechristened the instrument with the name given by people of their own nation to a kind of drum made from similar materials by the children in the south of Holland, and used by them at Christmas time. A full account of this instrument, together with the melody and words of the song which was sung to its accompaniment, will be found in the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue of the Instrumental Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire. But the true *rommelpot* was a *friction* drum, the sound being produced by rubbing the moistened fingers up and down a reed one end of which was secured to the centre of the drum skin. This method of sound production on a drum was, so far as I have been able to discover, unknown to the Korana, as also was the name *rommelpot*.

Arbousset's description of this drum of the Korana women is worth recalling here (I quote from the English translation by John Crombie Brown, London, 1852, page 54) "Consuming a great part of the day in smoking, and leaving their children covered with vermin, and their houses in a state of the most disgusting filth, like the men they reserve all their activity and vigour for the *sukeis* or *pot-dance*. When the moon enters her first quarter, all the kraal assemble on some favourite elevation; then they dance to the sound of the tang-tang, all the night long, and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement the

Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol. 4, p. 3*) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair."

2. Wind Instruments

(a) Signal whistle named *//areŋ !as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *≠a:di* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen.

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885.

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *≠a:di*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the

descriptions in Wikar and Wuras give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me ; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gesicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small ; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words ; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished ; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of caresses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly ; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she seems " (feigns) " to threaten him."

According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons" ; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

“Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet.” The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. $20\frac{1}{2}$, Lat. $29\frac{1}{4}$.

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. III. p. 287), “The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone” (sic). “They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison,” (sic) “the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day’s feast, howling like many wolves.”

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *çās* and describes it as “a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced.” Meinhof calls the reed-flute $\neq'ās$ and the reed-dance $\neq'ā-s/aī-b$, and further states, “They” (the Korana) “have no drum,” (sic,) “but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute.”

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. “During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora” (printer’s error for *gora*, v. infra) “and the whistling reed is truly surprising.” This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the “songs of Zion” had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This

type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No "ictus" could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds,

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them "boys") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being "whipped" with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !kausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

- (1) $\neq ko : \neq ko : s$
- (2) *!namis*
- (3) *geiη ≠ a : s*
- (4) *tuxana*

The meaning of the third of these names is "the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of "tonic," since from it the

others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The $\neq a:di$, he said, were played by men moving in a circle ($ina \neq na:e \neq nammi$). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands ($ina //am$) and shaking their buttocks ($lhare khwedi$). Four o'clock in the afternoon ($haka kororo:p$) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning ($//kwa:ba$). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:s*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

VI, used a one-gallon paraffin tin as a substitute) and is placed to her right. The right foot holds this end of the bow in position, while the upper end rests against the left shoulder. Taking the beater between the first finger and thumb of her right hand, she strikes the string with a clean *staccato* action, comparable to that used in side-drum playing, and a ringing tone is produced. This is the fundamental tone of the string. By lightly touching the middle point of the string with the second phalange of the forefinger of her left hand, and at the same time striking the string, the first harmonic, one octave above the fundamental, is produced. Again, by pressing upon the string with the chin at the appropriate spot, a second fundamental, a tone higher than the original one, is obtained, and by touching the string at the new middle point, the octave of this second fundamental is heard. These are the principal sounds elicited from this instrument by the Korana women, although I observed, in one instance, a woman touching the string at the "node" required to produce the second harmonic of the string. But this may have been accidental, although the Bechuana women, who also play this type of instrument, actually use it and also a higher partial. Example 2 shows the typical use of the instrument. The symbols above the stave show the chin technique, ° meaning that the chin is clear of the string, and × that it is pressed on to the string; the symbols below the stave show the fingering, ° meaning that the fundamental is being sounded, and • the first harmonic.

Ex. 2. $\bullet = 108$.

Chin ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ × × ×

Finger ○ ○ ● ○ ○ ● ○ ○ ● ○ ○ ●

Detailed description: This musical staff shows the first part of a piece. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of eighth notes: B-flat, D, E, F, G, A, B-flat, C. There are two measures of rests, each indicated by a diagonal slash. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots. Above the staff, there are symbols for chin positions: open circles above the first seven notes and three crosses above the final three notes. Below the staff, there are fingerings: open circles above the first two notes, closed circles below the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth notes, and open circles above the remaining notes.

Such a musical pattern as this serves as an *ostinato* accompaniment for a song, the melody of which is to a certain extent controlled by the instrument. The vocal music sung to the accompaniment of the *kha:s* differs considerably from the simpler strophic lyrics that are characteristic of these people, and of which I quote six examples below. In the *kha:s* songs the voice is both rhythmically and melodically very free, being much nearer to speech than in the more formal tunes. In point of fact, the specimens which I heard sung by Gotis were almost more speech than song; and I am inclined to suggest that the actual speech-tones of the language directed the course of the melody. Phonograms of Korana speech (not song) which I made of Tabab were musically so clear-cut

that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:s* accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:s*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:s* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:s*.

In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

(c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele:ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

Ex. 3.

Mittlab /noũs kjesa

$\text{♩} = 132.$

Mitt-lab /nõas kje-sa Mitt-lab /nõas kje-sa Mitt-lab /nõas kje-sa

Mitt-lab /nõas kje-sa ou Daob /nõas kje-sa ou Daob /nõas kje-sa

Daob /hou kx?ũĩŋ!na ou Daob /nõas kje-sa ou Daob /nõas kje-sa

ou Daob /nõas kje-sa Mitt-lab /nõas kje-sa ou Daob /nõas kje-sa

Daob /hou kx?ũĩŋ!na ou Daob /nõas kje-sa

This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !

Mittlab ! It is his cow !

Old Daob ! It is his cow !

Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

Ex. 4. *da hata kje !kuti*

$\text{♩} = 116.$

da ha-ta kje !ku-ti ha-ta kje !ku-ti ha-ta kje !ku-ti

ha-ta kje !ku-ti tae-bas ≠ hao ba-sen ta-ma ≠ hao ba-sen

tama gei - kwa kje ho ho ≠ hao ba-sen ta-ma, tae-ba ba-si

/go:bgo, tae-ba ba-si/go:bgo go, ≠ hao ba-sen tama ≠ hao basen

tama tã rã rã rã rã tã rã rã rã rã

This is the beginning of a song called */gaxuta* (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kuti? (brother of */gaxuta*)
 Why don't you smack the boy yourself?
 The old people have got hold of him.
 Why has the boy got the better of you?

Ex. 5.

tã ti-nã tã

$\text{♩} = 100$

tã ti-nã tã tã tã-nã-nã tã ti-nã tã

tã ta-nã tã ta-na tã tã tã-nã-nã tã ti-nã tã

tã ta-nã tã ta-na tã tã ta-nã tã tã

tã ta-nã tã tã tã ti-nã tã ti-nã tã

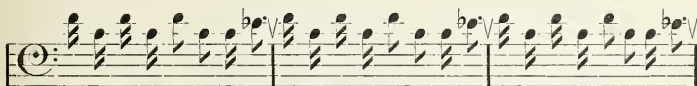
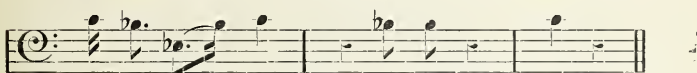
tã ti-nã tã ta-na tã

The syllables of this song are meaningless ; they are merely syllables comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Daob was asked to sing the sounds of the reed-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realised that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, $\neq ko : \neq ko : s$, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Daob sang ; the curious hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

Ex. 6.

!ui mare !harab!na tao

♩=86.

*!ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao**o de-na !kũ... ≠keie thõ thõ !nou**!ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao**de-na !kũ... ≠keie thõ thõ !nou*

This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the second flute, *!namis*. Translated, the words mean

When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
They come inside *

(*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear.)

This, said Daob, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Daob's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7.

tirã tirã tirũ

♩=120.

*ti - rã ti-rã ti-rã tã... ti-rã ti-rĩ... tã ti-rã ti-rã ti-rã*



This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *geiŋ=a:s*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8.

Tuxana |uib tse !nora sintskoko

$\text{♩} = 160$



Tu-xa-na |uib tse !no - ra sints-ko - ko Ai - o, ai - o, !no -

ra sin-tsko-ko Tu-xa-na |uib tse !no - ra sin-tsko - ko Ai -

o, ai - o, !no - ra sin-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai -

o, !no - ra sin-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai-o, ai-o, !no -

ra sin-tsko-ko Tu-xa-na |uib tse !no - ra sintsko - ko Ai -

accel.....

-o Ai - o Ai - o Ai - o, Ai - o

This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tuxana*. Translated, the words mean

Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone ?
Have you rolled down the stone ?
Ai-o, Ai-o !

I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes ; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments.

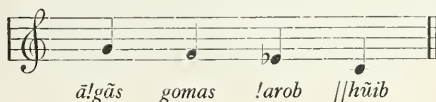
But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *tā ti-nā tā*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised ; in Tune IV, *lui mare !harab !na tao*, the note C is similarly prominent ; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, lui tse !nora sintskoko*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale,

Ex. 9.



of which the first note *geiŋ≠a:s* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aiās*, but with the next lowest flute,

Ex. 10.



But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */awa gowab sãn* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.



aiās ā!gās ||huis gomas

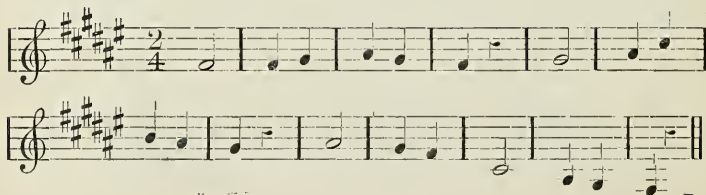
As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12.

hada ||nãu

♩=80.



The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

hada ||nǎu he: buruxa mīs,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris.

Ex. 13.

mati, mati

$\text{♩} = 52$

ma - ti, ma - ti, ma - ti, ma - ti. ma - ti, ma -

$\text{♩} = 72.$

-ti ma - ti, ma - ti. si - da kə sam - ma sam - ma -

-ti he:s kje ti |um - sa ... A - - men

si - da kə sam - ma samma - ti he:s kjeti |um -



The words, translated, mean

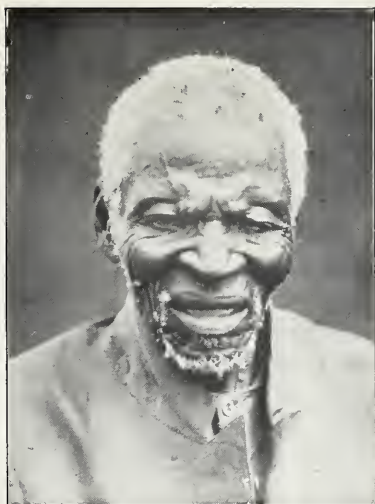
Give me, give me !
 We have taken the honey out.
 This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

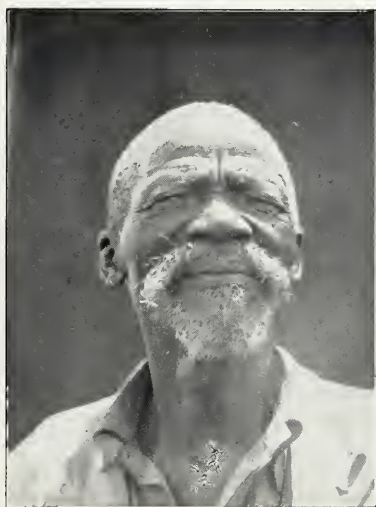
MUSICAL TERMS

In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *!kurise* \neq *nae* and low sounds *!eri doma* \neq *nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is *!guise* \neq *nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called *!ko* : \neq *nae* *kx?ona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called *!kam domkwa* ; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *!anη* \neq *nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

PLATE I.

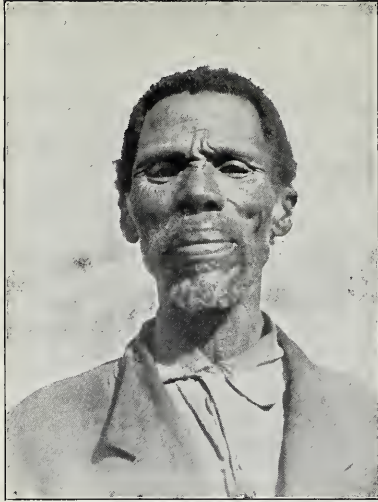


Xras (Schweizer Reneke.)



Sele:ki (Schweizer Reneke).

PLATE II.

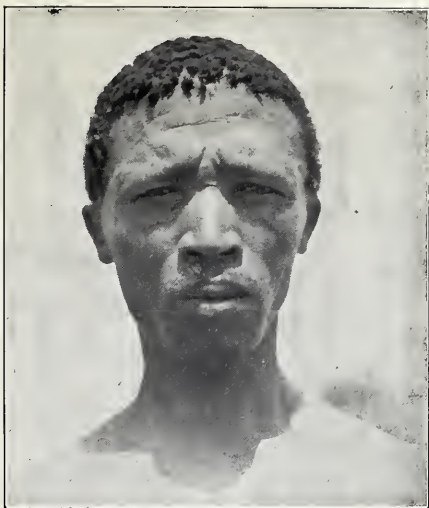


Tabab (Bloemhof).



Kheis (Bloemhof).

PLATE III.



A. and B.
Abraham Links.

PLATE IV.



Site of Saron Mission Station.



The Grave of Johannes Links.

PLATE V.



Matiti plugging a Flute



Matiti blowing a Flute.



Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute*.

PLATE VI.



Gotis playing the Kha:s.



Sele:ki playing the Goras.

PLATE VII.

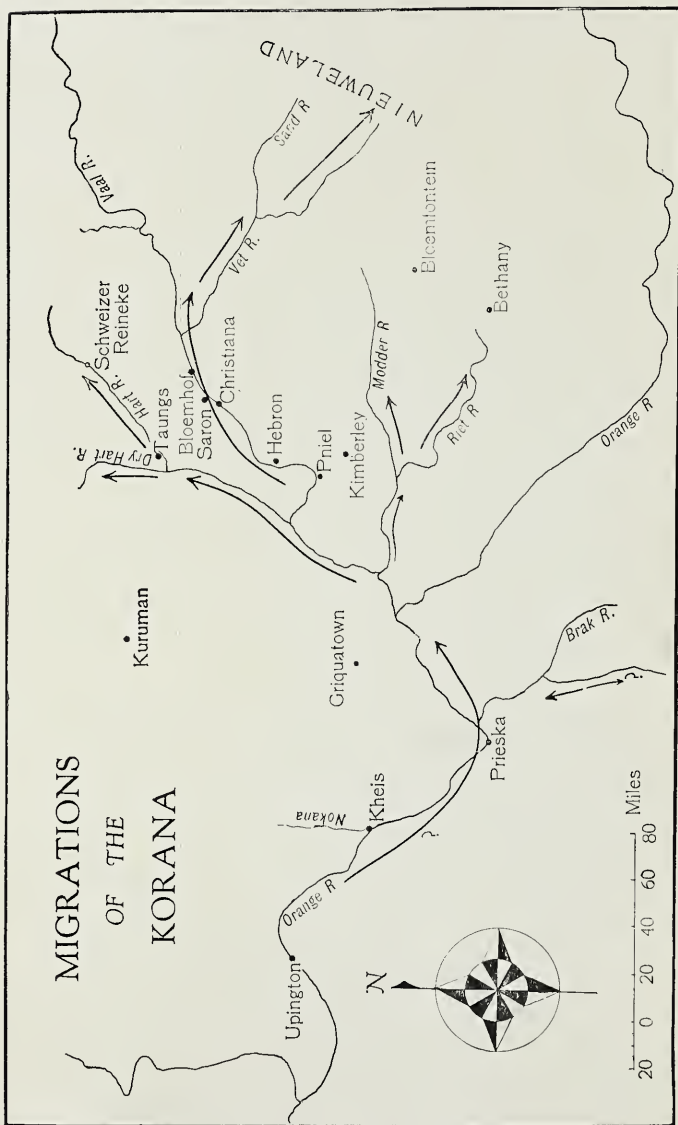


Tabab playing the !Gabus.



Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

MIGRATIONS OF THE KORANA



This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Links between Saron and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.

BOOK REVIEWS

Elements of Tropical Hygiene, by G. M. Sanderson, (Longmans, Green & Co. London. 1932), 118 pp. 2s.

This is a most attractive outline of essential elements of hygiene and physiology for the use of teachers in African village schools. The book is most informative, written in a simple and interesting style. Nevertheless technical terms are not avoided. They are explained and later elucidated in a glossary. The book is divided into three parts, Life and the Body, Some Common Diseases, and Sanitation. The functions of the various body organs are carefully explained in a way to gain the full interest and understanding of the reader ; and the practical application in sanitation follows as a natural corollary. A study of this little book will go a long way toward counteracting the Native African adherence to witchcraft as the source of sickness and death.

Such a book as this could well be translated into the vernaculars of tropical African areas. We congratulate the author and publishers on this publication. The illustrations too are very apt and instructive.

C.M.D.

U-Nolishwa, by H. M. Ndawo, Lovedale Press, 1931, 126 pp. 1/6.

The author of this story is not unknown among Xhosa writers, having written *Intsomi zase Zweni* in 1920, *Uhambo luka Gqoboka* in 1922 and *Izibongo Zenkosi Zama-Hlubi Nezama-Baca* in 1928, and his present work adds to the increasing number of Xhosa novels which are doing their part in building up Xhosa literature. The author shows his ability to recount in simple and readable style a typical Bantu life story. This story of Nolishwa has a strong Christian setting. The little book is illustrated in an interesting way by G. N. Pemba, a Native artist.

C.M.D.

The BaVenda, by Hugh A. Stayt. With an Introduction by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. (Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by Oxford University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1931. 30s. net)

The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia. A Study of their Customs and Beliefs.
By Clement M. Doke. (London : Harrap & Co., Ltd. 36s. net).

The ethnographer who sets out at the present time to record the culture of a primitive tribe is faced with a task of some complexity. Owing to the rapid development of anthropological theory, the scope of field investigation has widened considerably, while at the same time its technique has been elaborated to a high degree of refinement. Far more is expected nowadays in a monograph than would formerly have been thought necessary, and the standards by which it is judged have grown a good deal more critical. The author's qualifications, the length of his stay with the tribe he is describing, the methods he employed to obtain his information, and the manner in which he presents it, all these are factors which must be considered in estimating the value of his work. Of the two books listed above, the first is written by a trained anthropologist, the second by a former missionary. Both authors are well equipped by their experience to discuss Native habits and customs, but as is only to be expected there is an appreciable difference in their handling of the material.

The BaVenda of whom Dr. Stayt writes are one of the largest Bantu tribes of the Northern Transvaal, and are also found in Southern Rhodesia. His bibliography shows that they have already been studied fairly extensively, but in the three seasons spent by him and his wife amongst them he was able to secure a vast amount of additional information. His book is by no means free from defect, but as a whole it is a very good piece of work, and without question the most competent study yet produced of any Bantu tribe in the Union. It portrays with a wealth of detail every aspect of Venda culture, and the author discusses ably and clearly the significance of the customs and beliefs he records.

The Bavenda are a composite people who have been gradually welded into a compact whole in the locality they now inhabit. They are the most recent Bantu settlers in the Union, and in their social organization and beliefs differ in many respects from the tribes around them. The diversity of their origin is reflected both in their physical appearance and in certain cultural variations, e.g. in connexion with the burial and in installation rites of their chiefs. Actually they are made up of sibs and groups of unrelated peoples, who have, in varying circumstances and localities, come in contact with a small homogeneous nucleus and become identified with it. This nucleus, in its legends and in some of its customs appears to be closely linked with the old Zimbabwe culture of Southern

Rhodesia, a fact stressed by Miss Caton-Thompson in her attribution of this culture to the Bantu.*

Since their arrival in the Union the BaVenda have come under the influence first of the surrounding BaSotho and then of the Europeans. Dr. Stayt carefully discusses in the proper context the Sotho elements in their culture, which are often considerable. It is to be regretted, however, that he has paid so little attention to the modifications due to contact with the Europeans. It is obvious from a few cursory references that this influence has been fairly pronounced, but not once does he attempt to analyze fully its effects upon Venda life. His chapter on "Social Groupings," e.g., concludes with the words: "The disintegrating effect of the contact of the BaVenda with the European seems likely to result in the total collapse of their social system." This sweeping assertion at the very least calls for some specific illustrations of the "disintegrating effect," but nothing at all is said to reinforce it. The result is that we are given a picture of Venda culture not as it actually exists, but as it emerges once the European elements have been disregarded and the obsolete or decadent Native institutions restored to their former prominence. It is possible, of course, to justify this procedure. On the other hand, it conveys a distinctly false impression of what the BaVenda are at the present time, which after all is what Dr. Stayt should have attempted to record before concerning himself with the past. Moreover, it completely ignores one of the great problems with which modern anthropology is concerned, viz. the effects of culture contact between Europeans and Native races.

The early chapters of the book deal with economic life in a somewhat sketchy manner and would have gained much by better arrangement. Agricultural rites, e.g., are described towards the end under the main headings of "Religion" and "Rain-Making," and are thereby isolated from their proper context; such diverse activities as war, trading, travelling and hunting are lumped together haphazardly in one short chapter; while far too little is said about land tenure and the Venda conceptions of property.

The succeeding pages on the life history of the individual are much more exhaustive. This aspect of Native life is one which most ethnographers find easy to investigate, and a good deal of useful information about it can be gathered with relatively little trouble. Dr. Stayt, how-

*Cf. her book on *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* (Oxford 1931), to which Dr. Stayt has contributed an appendix on the BaVenda and their connexion with Zimbabwe.

ever, has done his work in this respect with outstanding efficiency. His description of puberty and initiation, in particular, is excellent. The old Venda ceremonies include separate "schools" for the boys and the girls, followed by a joint "school" in which the two sexes are brought together and initiated simultaneously into the mysteries of sex and childbirth. Circumcision is now also firmly established in parts of their country. It was introduced to them by the BaLemba, but much of the procedure was borrowed from the BaSotho, and many of the associated songs are in SeSotho and not in TshiVenda. Dr. Stayt's account of these ceremonies is very full and connected, and his explanations of the significance reveal a thorough understanding of a most difficult problem in Bantu ethnography.

Social organization is dealt with in a competent although rather lifeless manner. The analysis of the relationship system, especially, suffers from the lack of all reference to actual individuals. We are not even given the customary genealogical trees of some man and some woman to illustrate concretely the application of the relationship terms, while the account of "behaviour patterns" is almost painfully stereotyped. But several features of interest may be noted. Dr. Stayt rightly stresses the bilateral aspect of kinship affiliations, which among the BaVenda is based upon a definite physiological theory. It is believed that the child receives its flesh and blood from the mother and its bones and sensory organs from the father. As a result its mother's maternal relations and its father's paternal relations play a specially important part in its life. Control over its welfare is even more powerfully exercised by the ancestral spirits of these two lines. Most bodily disease, since it is associated with the blood, is attributed to the malevolent spirits of the mother's group, which are in consequence greatly feared and play a bigger part in the lives of their relations than do the spirits of the father's side. The sacred bull representing the paternal ancestors, and the female goat representing the maternal ancestors, are conspicuous in Venda religion and figure prominently in many of the ceremonies. This whole complex of beliefs and practices is admirably synthesized by Dr. Stayt, whose discoveries in regard to it throw a good deal of light upon ancestor worship amongst the Bantu in general.

The political organization, with its chieftainship, hereditary and appointed officials, and system of three councils is described fairly clearly but more information on the working of the councils and on the administration of justice would have been welcome. In particular one regrets that Dr. Stayt does not cite any of the actual cases of Venda jurisdiction which came to his notice. Concrete instances of this sort

would have thrown much more light upon the actual functioning of the system than does the mere statement of general principles. We are, as it were, given the structure of Venda legal doctrine, while nothing is said of the intricacies and irregularities of behaviour which by no means conform to strict tribal usage.

This neglect of the individual element is noticeable throughout the book, and detracts to a considerable extent from its quality. We are given a useful account of the chieftainship and its functions, but of the personal character of the chief, a factor which always plays a large part in Bantu political life, Dr. Stayt says very little, although he had every opportunity for observation. Again, he discusses at some length the Venda conceptions of religion and magic, but never pauses to consider how far the BaVenda as individuals vary in their outlook upon the supernatural world and in their attitude towards conventional beliefs. He does not discuss the private opinions of the magicians about their work, and so misses a valuable opportunity of throwing light upon the extent to which they are really sincere in their dealings with their credulous fellow-tribesmen. He writes a good deal about witchcraft and divination, but gives very few actual examples of either.

We are in fact presented with what is admittedly a sound analysis of Venda culture, but we do not learn very much of the people possessing that culture. One gets the impression that there is nothing in the way of marked individual variation, that the individual is in effect almost completely swamped by and submerged in the group—and how erroneous this impression is anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the Bantu will readily acknowledge.

It has been felt necessary to dwell upon these defects because Dr. Stayt is an anthropologist by training. His work must therefore be regarded as an example of what this training can achieve when put to use in the field. The many excellent features in his book vindicate the superiority of the anthropologist's approach to that of other observers. We refer not only to the information actually collected, but to the way in which the interrelation of different aspects of custom and belief is brought out, and to the convincing interpretations of facts which occasionally appear on the surface to be entirely meaningless and merely picturesque. Only a student trained to appreciate the problems of culture could have seen so deeply into the life of a primitive people. Nevertheless the criticisms that can be advanced against the book show that even the anthropologist still has a good deal to learn about the methods of studying the Native, and about the handling of his material so as to give a comprehensive and well-balanced record of Native life.

It would be unfair to apply the same canons of criticism to Professor Doke's account of the AwaLamba. In his preface he specifically regrets his lack of anthropological training. "I wish I had had more knowledge of the significance of the Native customs when I first went to work among the Lambas," he says; "I should have been saved from many a grievous mistake and many a misjudgment." He writes as a missionary who lived for seven years among his people, and his account of their culture is obviously based upon careful and sympathetic study. To say that it falls short of the quality demanded in a first-class ethnographical monograph is not to belittle his work, which in fact constitutes an important contribution to our knowledge of the Bantu and compares very favourably with the majority of treatises on the African Native.

The Lambas belong to the great belt of matrilineal Bantu peoples extending right across Africa from east to west on the level of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They are divided into exogamous clans with matrilineal descent, many of which bear animal names; but the members of a clan have no special usages to observe in connexion with the object from which their clan name is derived. There is more than a mere suggestion of patrilineal influences in the fact that although a dead man's heirs are his brothers, his children also receive part of the heritage, and again the "guardian" of the dead man's spirit will be one of his own children in preference to his sister's. Professor Doke does not appear to appreciate the bearing of these and similar facts upon the problems of social organization, for his whole account of the clan and kinship system is characterized by a formal sketchiness which leaves much to be desired. There is a tantalizing reference to the fact that Lamba clans are paired off in opposites which observe a joking relationship towards each other; a fuller discussion of this topic would have been decidedly welcome.

The people derive their subsistence from agriculture supplemented by hunting. Cattle do not appear to be used. There is a really good chapter upon hunting, which among the Lambas is a professional occupation akin to that of the smith. The hunter must be ceremonially initiated into the craft, and a full discussion is given of the part played by magic and omens in his activities. It is a pity that the noticeable care exercised in the compilation of this description was not also extended to that of the agricultural routine, which is dismissed far too briefly in a miscellaneous chapter on "Village Life and Customs." The whole economic life, in fact, apart from hunting, is dealt with in a somewhat superficial manner, which is all the more regrettable as there are several facts of importance in this connexion scattered through the book,

The life-history of the individual is described adequately and in fairly great detail. An interesting fact is the complete absence of any rites or ceremonies initiating boys into manhood. On the other hand a girl on the occasion of her first menstruation is secluded for several months, during which she is instructed principally upon points of behaviour which will have a bearing upon her future married life. No operation is performed, but vaginal distension is practised in order to ensure safe delivery at childbirth. Cross-cousin marriage of both types is common, but apparently not insisted upon. Where it does take place, the "marriage pledge" need not be given to the girl's people. Marriage is stated to be matrilineal, but it appears that after two years or so the husband generally receives permission to return to his own village. The children in such cases are often left with their mother's people, but the ultimate decision rests with the parents.

The tribal organization of the Lambas, with its system of graded chieftainships and villages of different status, presents some remarkable features which are clearly brought out. The chapter on law contains a good account of customary procedure, illustrated by a number of actual case-histories. The penalties exacted include fining in kind, bodily mutilation, death, and, it is interesting to note, enslavement of the convicted person or of some relations in his place. Slavery as a domestic institution used to flourish amongst the Lambas, and Professor Doke gives a brief but useful description of the various ways in which people become slaves and of their subsequent treatment.

The best chapters in the book are those dealing with Lamba religion. Here Professor Doke obviously feels more at home, and he has given us a most valuable treatment of what is generally a difficult subject to describe lucidly. The Lambas speak of *Lesa*, the creator of all things, but he is not worshipped and appears to play little part in their daily life. On the other hand the spirits affect almost every phase of daily existence. At death *umweo*, "the life," is freed from the body and, detached from *umupashi*, "spirit," goes to the abode of the dead, which lies somewhere in the west. The *umupashi* returns to the village to await an opportunity for reincarnation in some new-born child of its clan. Till then it is closely associated with some living kinsman, either a younger brother or a son, who builds for it the customary little hut and sees that it is kept supplied with nourishment. Apart from these spirits of the dead are the *ifiwanda*, "demons," who are a separate creation, wandering about in the forest and inflicting harm upon the living. Magic amongst the Lambas is practised by several different classes of people, whose activities and methods Professor Doke describes in considerable detail. Finally a

word of appreciation should be said about his chapter on witchcraft, which although rather brief is illuminated by a number of case-histories throwing a good deal of light upon Lamba conceptions of the black art. Professor Doke may be congratulated upon the success of his venture into a field somewhat removed from that in which he has specialized since his departure from Ilamba.

It only remains to add that both books are well produced, beautifully illustrated, and provided with the usual apparatus of maps, bibliographies, glossaries and indices. Their prices, however, seem rather exorbitant, a fact, of course, for which the authors cannot be held responsible.

I. SCHAPERA

An Outline of English Phonetics, by Daniel Jones, Professor of Phonetics, University College, London. Third Edition (rewritten) with 116 illustrations, pp. 326. W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1932, 12/6 net.

This third edition of Professor Daniel Jones' well-known book on English Phonetics may well be considered an entirely new work. Besides a bringing up to date of all the material the previous edition contained, there are many great and valuable additions in the volume just brought out. This book is valuable not only to students of English phonetics but also to those interested in the general subject of phonetics, on account of the amount of general phonetic theory contained. Much of what one hitherto found in the first fifty pages of "The Pronunciation of Russian" is now incorporated here. We are indebted to the author for his illuminating discussions on the subjects of *prominence*, *syllables*, *phonemes* and *diaphones*, and for the detailed descriptions of the vowels and consonants.

The English vowels are worked out with comparative charts (and a full description of the cardinal vowel chart system), lip-position photographs, palatograms and tongue-position drawings, with most careful details, and due notice of dialectal peculiarities. A new system of numbering the vowels is usefully employed. There are also valuable comparisons and contrasts, made by chart, particularly with French and German pronunciation. Perhaps one of the outstanding contributions of this book is found in those sections dealing with the mispronunciations of foreigners (and this applies to the consonants as well as vowels), and examples are given freely from Danish, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Indian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. The book will be a treasure-house for the foreign student of English.

Professor Jones employs the term "Received Pronunciation" for that type of English, which he uses as standard—this in place of his previous "Standard Southern English." He has included a valuable chapter on "Affricates," in which the whole system of affrication in English is well reviewed. I still feel, however, that he has not sufficiently emphasised the essential difference in tongue-position between the 't' in 'ts' and the 't' in 'tf.' This is not sufficiently brought out in the diagrams (Figures 64 and 70 for instance), and perhaps many of his palatograms would have been more illuminating had he included with them diagrams of the tongue, shewing clearly what portions are affected by contact. Has sufficient attention been paid to this?

A fine distinction is made between "Similitude" and "Assimilation," the former being governed by the choice of a closer member of the phoneme, and the latter by a member of a different phoneme. A most useful exposition of "Rhythm" is given, and the interdependence of Rhythm and Length amply demonstrated.

In the chapter on "Stress," the author has well emphasised that Stress does not necessarily involve a raising of the tone. A study of tone and stress in Bantu languages makes this point absolutely clear; nevertheless in English a raising of the tone often does accompany a stressed syllable. The book contains a mass of important detail on "Stress" and "Intonation," some fifty pages being devoted to the latter subject. In recording intonation Professor Jones follows the system used by Klinghardt in his "Übungen im Englischen Tonfall" with certain modifications; and, as a method of classification, he has adopted that of Armstrong and Ward in their "Handbook of English Intonation."

The value of this great work might have been still further enhanced by the inclusion of a few kymograph tracings as an adjunct to some of the descriptions; but with its splendid illustrative figures, useful index, good clear printing and strong binding, we find nothing in this work to criticise; and most heartily congratulate the author on a most valuable production.

C.M.D.

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